Western Carolinian.

It is even wise to abstain from laws, which however wise and good in themselves, have the semblance of inequality which find no response in the heart of the citizen, and which will be evaded with little remorse. The wisdom of legislation is especially seen in grafting laws on conscience.

Dr. Channing.

[BY BURTON CRAIGE.] SALISBURY, ROWAN COUNTY, N. C.... MONDAY JANUARY 14, 1833. [VOL. XIII NO. 658.

TERMS

The WESTERN CAROLINIAN is published once a week at two dollars per annum, if paid within three months; or two dollars and fifty cents, if paid at any other time within the year. No Paper will be discontinued until all arrearages are paid, unless at the Editor's discretion.—No subscription will be received for a less time than one year.

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GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

SENATE.

Thursday, Dec. 20.

The Senate proceeded to take up the engrossed bill making an appropriation and appointing commissioners for the rebuilding of the Capitol in the city of Raleigh; and the bill being read the second time, was passed—Ayes 36, Noes 27.

Yeas.—Messrs. Askew, Bailey, Bateman, Bell, Boddie, Bullock, Carson, Collins, Cowper, Dishong, Faison, Harrison, Hawkins, Hinton, Hussey, Latham, Lindsay, McDowell, Marshall, Matthews, Melvin, Montgomery (of H.) Montgomery (of O.,) Moye, (of G.,) Moye (of P.,) Norman, Rhodes, Seawell, Simmons, Skinner, Spaight, Spencer, Vanhook, Wilder, Williams, Wilson.

Nays.—Messrs. Allen, Allison, Brittain, Carter, Dobson, Gavin, Hall, Hogan, Hoke, Houston, Howell, Kerr, Lamb, Leak, Lilly, Martin, Massey, Moffit, Moore, Morris, Parham, Parker, Ray, Stedman, Toomer, Tyson, Wellborn.

Mr. Allen then moved that the bill be read the third time, which was agreed to. Ayes 33, Noes 30. Whereupon the bill was read the third time, passed and ordered to be enrolled. Ayes 35, Noes 28. The votes on the third reading were as on the second, with the exception of Mr. Carson, who on the last reading of the bill voted in the negative.

Friday, Dec. 21.

Mr. Askew presented a resolution to adjourn on the 5th of January, 1833, *sine die*; which was read and laid on the table.

On motion of Mr. Latham, it was resolved that the committee on the judiciary be instructed to inquire whether a remedy could not be devised to prevent the practice of issuing *ca. sas* in the first instance, against debtors having a sufficiency of visible property.

The bill to establish the Bank of North Carolina was read the third time, amended, passed and ordered to be engrossed—Ayes 33, Noes 27.

Ayes.—Messrs. Allen, Bell, Brittain, Carter, Dishongh, Hinton, Hogan, Hoke, Hussey, Kerr, Lamb, Leak, Lilly, Lindsay, Martin, Massey, Moffit, Morris, Montgomery of O. Parker, Rhodes, Skinner, Spencer, Stedman, Tyson, Vanhook, Wellborn, Wilder.

Nays.—Messrs. Allison, Askew, Bailey, Boddie, Bullock, Carson, Collins, Faison, Hawkins, Houston, Howell, Latham, McDowell, Marshall, Matthews, Melvin, Montgomery of H. Moore, Moye of G. Moye of Pitt, Ray, Seawell, Simmons, Spaight, Toomer, Williams, Wilson.

Saturday, Dec. 22.

On motion of Mr. Matthews, it was resolved, that the committee on Finance be instructed to inquire whether the sum of six hundred dollars, appropriated by a resolution of the last General Assembly for house rent, &c. for the use of the Governor of the State, has been expended; if so, for what, and to whom paid.

Monday, Dec. 24.

Mr. Hawkins, from the joint select committee on military affairs, to whom was referred a resolution directing the Governor to loan to a rifle corps, formed or forming in the town of Washington, rifles and accoutrements belonging to the State, sufficient to arm said company, made an unfavorable report thereon: in which report the Senate concurred.

The bill to erect out of a portion of the counties of Burke and Buncombe a separate and distinct county, by the name of Yancey, was read the first time and rejected—Ayes 27, Noes 33.

Ayes—Messrs Allen, Allison, Brittain, Carson, Carter, Dobson, Hogan, Hoke, Houston, Kerr, Leak, Lilly, McDowell, Martin, Massey, Moffit, Montgomery, (of O.,) Moore, Morris, Parham, Parker, Ray, Stedman, Toomer, Tyson, Vanhook, Wellborn.

Nays.—Messrs. Askew, Bailey, Bateman, Bell, Bullock, Collins, Cowper, Dishong, Faison, Gavin, Hall, Harrison, Hawkins, Hinton, Howell, Hussey, Lamb, Latham, Lindsay, Marshall, Matthews, Melvin, Montgomery (of H.,) Moye (of G.) Moye (of P.) Norman, Rhodes, Simmons, Skinner, Spencer. Wilder, Williams, Wilson

The engrossed bill concerning charities, & the engrossed bill to provide for the more prompt administration of justice in the counties of Burke, Buncombe, Lincoln and Rutherford, were read the third time, passed and ordered to be enrolled.

Mr. Toomer, from the joint select committee to whom was referred the letter of the Governor of the State of South Carolina, to the Governor of this State, together with the accompanying documents made a report thereon, accompanied with the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina doth entertain, and doth unequivocally express a warm attachment to the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That the General Assembly doth solemnly declare a devoted attachment to the Federal Union, believing that on its continuance depend the liberty, the peace, and prosperity of these United States.

Resolved, That whatever diversity of opinion may prevail in this State as to the constitutionality of the acts of Congress imposing duties on imposts; yet it is believed a large majority of the people think those acts unconstitutional; and they are all united in the sentiment, that the existing Tariff is impolitic, unjust and oppressive; and they have urged, and will continue to urge its repeal.

Resolved, That the doctrine of Nullification, avowed by the State of South Carolina, and lately promulgated in an ordinance, is revolutionary in its character, subversive of the Constitution of the United States, and leads to a dissolution of the Union.

Resolved, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives be requested, to use all constitutional means in their power to procure an adjustment of the existing controversy between the State of South Carolina and the General Government, and to produce a reconciliation between the contending parties.

Resolved further, That a copy of these resolutions be respectfully communicated by his Excellency the Governor of this State to his Excellency the Governor of South Carolina.

Which were read the first time and passed. On motion of Mr. Williams, they were committed to a committee of the whole House, and made the order of the day for Thursday next; and, on motion of Mr. Bell, ordered to be printed.

Wednesday, Dec. 26.

The Senate met according to adjournment; and, after the transaction of some unimportant business, adjourned until to-morrow.

Wednesday, Dec. 26.

Mr. Leak presented a resolution to authorise the commissioners for the rebuilding of the Capitol to sell such part of the rubbish of the former building as may be unnecessary to be used in the new building; which was read the first, second and third times passed, and ordered to be engrossed.

Mr. Spaight presented the following preamble and resolution:

Whereas it appears from the President's message of the fourth of this month to the Congress of the United States, that the public debt will probably be extinguished early in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty three, and that there are now on hand, belonging to the United States, funds sufficient to pay the same; and whereas, in the said message, he recommends to Congress a reduction of the Tariff to a plain and economical system of revenue, which recommendation, we hope, will be complied with by the present Congress; but should our just and reasonable hopes be disappointed, we still have every reason to believe, from the result of the elections for members of the next Congress of the United States, that the Tariff will be reduced to a revenue system, founded upon republican principles: and whereas in the event of the present Congress failing to make the proper reduction of the Tariff, we have every reason to believe the President of the United States will convene the next as soon as practicable after the 4th day of March next: Therefore,

Resolved, That our sister State South Carolina be respectfully requested to suspend the operation and enforcement of any and every penal enactment made, or to be made, carrying into execution the ordinance of her Convention, which may endanger the peace and harmony of these United States, until, at least, the first day of September next, to give time to the present or next Congress of the United States to act upon the subject of the Tariff.

Which were read the first time, passed, and, on motion of Mr. Cowper, ordered to be printed.

Thursday Dec. 27.

On motion of Mr. Carter, the committee on the judiciary was instructed to examine into the legality of a claim made by the President and Directors of the State Bank, by which they have exacted interest of four per cent, on the reserved stock (not paid for) belonging to the State in said Bank; and they were further instructed to inquire by what authority the President and Directors of the New bern and Cape Fear Banks pay the one per cent. due the State upon the individual stock, out of the whole amount of the joint capital stock of said Bank.

Mr. Spaight presented a bill to amend an act, passed in the year 1829, to provide for a division of negroes and other chattel property held in common; Mr. Dobson, a bill to amend the act to vest the right of electing the clerks of the County and Superior Courts in the free white men of their respective counties; The first of which bills was read the first time, and the second three several times, passed and ordered to be engrossed.

On motion of Mr. Hinton, the Senate proceeded to take up the bill to reduce the salary of the Supreme Court Judges; which was read the second time and passed—Ayes 35 Noes 19

Mr. Bailey, in behalf of himself and the minority of the committee on the S. Carolina Documents, presented the following counter report; which on motion of Mr. Montgomery, of Hertford, was laid upon the table and ordered to be printed:

The Joint Select committee, to whom was referred certain documents transmitted by His Excellency the Governor of S. Carolina, to the Governor of this State, and by him, communicated to the Legislature, have made their report and have recommended certain resolutions. The undersigned, as one of that committee, begs leave to submit the following reasons wherefore he could not assent to ALL the principles contained in that report. The report asserts, that Nullification is revolutionary in its character, subversive of the constitution, and tends to a dissolution of the Union. If this were true, and it possessed either of these pernicious qualities, it certainly merits the severest disapprobation and censure from every friend to the constitution and to the union. But if, on the contrary, it should be found, upon a careful, and an honest examination, to possess the only conservative principle by which the constitution can be saved, and the union perpetuated, then it should find advocates among the friends of State Rights and constitutional liberty. In order to arrive at a correct and satisfactory conclusion upon this all-important and absorbing question, it is necessary to examine well the foundations upon which our government rests, and especially the design and objects of its framers. Did they design to establish a consolidated government, limited it is true by a written constitution, but, in fact, possessing all power without any check on the part of the States? The journals of the Convention show that they did not. Was there ever such a political body in this country as the people of the United States in their COLLECTIVE CAPACITY? It is believed there never was. How then was the constitution of the United States brought into existence? If by the people in their aggregate or collective capacity, then this government is a consolidated government; but if, on the contrary, the constitution is a compact between sovereign states, made for special purposes, to carry into execution, their joint designs, then it would, seem to follow, that this is a confederated government. The constitution was formed by the States, as states; they voted as states in the convention, in forming that instrument, and afterwards in its ratification acted as states in their sovereign capacity. There were propositions made in the convention by the advocates of federal power, to make the general government a consolidated empire, thereby causing the states to bear the same relation to the general government that the counties now do to the states. These propositions were rejected by the advocates of state rights, who maintained, that the objects of the federal government and the union did not require that the states should surrender one particle of their INHERENT sovereignty. It will be conceded by the friends of state rights, that at the time of forming the constitution, the states possessed all the attributes of sovereignty, and that this sovereignty resided in the people of each state. Each state had a government composed of legislative, judicial and executive departments; to each of whom were delegated by the people, in their sovereign capacity, certain trust powers to be executed by them; and yet it will not be contended, that the delegation of these trust powers to the separate state governments, deprived any one of those states of their INHERENT sovereignty. It should be borne in mind, that sovereignty and government, do not in this country reside in the same body. Sovereignty is unlimited power, it is "unalienable and indivisible." It resides in the people, and when they assemble in convention for the purpose of making a new government, or of revising their organic law, they exhibit to the world entire sovereignty, and their voice, next to the voice of GOD, must be obeyed. The GOVERNMENT of the people is DERIVED from this sovereign body. It is composed of certain functionaries possessing legislative, judicial and executive powers, limited by a written constitution, and always under the control of the sovereignty of the people. These sovereign states, finding from experience that certain powers could be exercised by a joint government to their mutual advantage, without impairing their free and independent character, formed the constitution of the U. States. They delegated to that government, the power of declaring war, of regulating commerce, of forming treaties with foreign nations, and of doing other acts of an external character, which would essentially promote the happiness and interests of all the states. All power not granted to this general government, is reserved to the states respectively, or to the people. So long as the general and state governments keep within their respective jurisdictions, so long will the constitution as well as the rights and liberties of the citizens, be preserved; but so soon as either transcends its prescribed limits, that moment the constitution is violated, and the suffering party has a right to immediate redress. These difficulties and conflicts between the general government as the agent, and the respective states as the principals, were foreseen by the patriots and sages who formed the constitution. There were two parties in the convention as there are now, and as there will be so long as this government has a name. There were men for giving the general government nearly all power, and reducing the states to petty corporations; but there were others who boldly stood forth as the champions of state rights and constitutional liberty. The advocates of a national consolidated government, insisted with much pertinacity and zeal, that the right to decide a controversy between a state and the joint agent of the states, should be lodged in the one or the other departments of the general government. A distinct proposition was made to give the power to the supreme court. These efforts failed, because the REPUBLICANS of that day believed that it would be unwise to trust any body with the right of judging, when that very body might be guilty of the usurpations complained of.

The journal of the convention and the constitution will show, that no such tribunal was ever made. From the foregoing observations, it would seem to follow as a legitimate conclusion, "that the several states composing the United States of America, are not united on the principle of unlimited submission to the general government, but that by compact under the style and title of a constitution for the United States and amendments thereto, they constituted a general government for special purposes, delegated to that government certain definite powers, reserving each state to itself the residuary mass of [illegible] that whensoever the general government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthoritative, void and of no force; that to this compact each state acceded as a state, and as an integral part; that this government created by this compact was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself; since that would have made its discretion, and not the constitution, the measure of its powers; but that as in all cases of compact, among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress."

In 1798 the assembly of Virginia adopted among others the following resolution, in which the undersigned heartily concurs: "That this assembly doth explicitly and peremptorily declare, that it views the powers of the federal government, as resulting from the compact to which the states are parties, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact, as no farther valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact; and that in case of a deliberate, palpable and dangerous exercise of other powers not granted by the said compact, the states who are parties thereto have the right, and are in duty bound to interpose for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining within their respective limits, the authorities, rights and liberties appertaining to them." This, together with the resolutions adopted by Virginia in '98, and their report and resolution of '99, embracing the Kentucky resolutions of the same years contain, it is believed, the political faith of the republican party in this country. If then, the States on account of their sovereignty, have a right to judge in the last resort, and it is made their duty in case of usurpation to interpose for the purpose of arresting the progress of the evil within their respective limits, with what propriety can those acts be called revolutionary in their character, when they are not only rightful but done with a view of arresting the progress of usurpation? If this right of judging in the last resort, does not violate any provision of the constitution, but on the contrary is consistent with its spirit and genius, then the judgment pronounced by a state must be as valid and binding upon the citizens thereof as if the same had been pronounced by a tribunal appointed by the constitution itself. If the people of a state meet in convention, and annul an unconstitutional act passed by their own legislature, no one would question their right to do so, much less would the act be branded as revolutionary. If they meet in the same capacity and declare an unconstitutional act of the federal legislature null and void, and absolve their citizens from all obligations to obey it, having the right to judge of the mode and measure of redress,' it is not perceived why the latter act is revolutionary and the former not. They are both acts of the same sovereign power and exerted for the same purpose. The violent acts of a mob, throwing off all lawful restraints upon their conduct, violating the constitution and changing the forms of government are revolutionary in their character, and would tend to a dissolution of the union. But will any man, who has any definite idea of the terms he uses, call that revolutionary which is ordained by a people in their highest sovereign capacity, and carried into practical effect by their courts and juries. No, it is preposterous to pronounce that revolutionary which is not done by force, but which is peaceful in its character and executed according to the forms of law. If Nullification is not revolutionary in character, by it conceived it has shewn, much less is it subversive of the constitution, or does it tend to a dissolution of the union. If the states were sovereign powers when the compact was entered into, and have not parted with that sovereignty, if they have the right to judge when that compact has been broken, and by their judgment to protect the property, the liberties and lives of their citizens, as has been demonstrated, the constitution instead of being subverted will be preserved, and the Union, our glorious bond of Union, transmitted to posterity as a precious heritage worthy of the sons of freedom.

The efforts which the citizens of South Carolina are now making for political and civil liberty, are worthy of the sons of those revolutionary heroes who sacrificed their lives for the rights of man.

The Tariff acts of which they complain, we ourselves pronounce unconstitutional, oppressive and unequal. In 1828, in a memorial against the tariff, adopted by the legislature of North Carolina, the following opinion was expressed, to wit: "It is conceded that Congress have the express power to lay imposts, but it is maintained that that power was given for revenue and revenue alone, and that every other use of the power is usurpation on the part of Congress." If South Carolina is doing nothing more than struggling against acts which we ourselves believe to be unconstitutional, oppressive and unequal, and if, in the language of the illustrious Jefferson, "those acts, being unconstitutional, are unauthoritative, void and of no force," with what justice can it be said, that her course is subversive of the constitution, when her [illegible] South Carolina, you have nothing to fear; although, like the whigs of '76, you may be denounced by your cold and calculating sisters, and threatened with the military arm of federal power; although the selfish politicians of the present day will do you injustice; a time will come when your deeds and your motives will be appreciated. The historian will record your acts, and posterity will do justice to your motives. A Hayne and a Hamilton, with many other noble compatriots will credit and adorn the historic page, and the efforts which you are making to preserve the constitution and the rights of the states, will be sung by the poet in immortal verse.

J. L. BAILEY.

On motion of Mr. Montgomery, of Hertford, the Senate went into a committee of the whole, Mr. Spaight in the chair, upon the resolutions reported by the joint select committee to whom was referred the South Carolina Documents; and after some time spent therein, the speaker resumed the Chair, and Mr. Spaight reported the resolutions with sundry amendments, with which the Senate concurred; and the resolutions as amended were read the second time and passed—ayes 47, noes 7.

Ayes—Messrs. Allison, Askew, Bell, Brittain, Bullock, Collins, Cowper, Dishong, Dobson, Gavin, Hall, Harrison, Hawkins, Hinton, Hogan, Hoke, Houston, Howell, Kerr, Lamb, Latham, Leak, Lindsay, Marshall, Martin, Massey, Melvin, Moffit, Montgomery (of O.) Moore, Morris, Moye (of G.) Moye (of P.) Norman, Parham, Parker, Ray, Rhodes, Seawell, Spaight, Spencer, Toomer, Vanhook, Wilder, Williams, Wilson.

Nays—Messrs. Bailey, Carson, Faison, McDowell, Matthews, Montgomery (of H) Wellborn.

Friday, Dec. 28.

The resolution requesting the State of South Carolina to suspend the operation of the Ordinance of their Convention, was read the second time. Mr. Martin moved to amend the resolution, by striking out the words "until at least the first day of September next;" which was agreed to, and the resolution, as amended, was read the second time and passed.

The bill to reduce the salary of the Supreme Court Judges was read the third time, passed and ordered to be engrossed—Ayes 36, Noes 22.

Ayes.—Messrs. Bullock, Cowper, Dishongh, Faison, Gavin, Hall, Harrison, Hawkins, Hinton, Hoke, Houston, Howell, Hussey, Kerr, Lamb, Latham, Leak, Martin, Massey, Matthews, Melvin, Moffit, Montgomery of O. Moore, Morris, Moye of G. Moye of P. Parham, Parker, Ray, Rhodes, Spaight, Tyson, Vanhook, Wellborn, Wilder.

Nays.—Messrs. Allison, Askew, Bailey, Bateman, Bell, Boddie, Brittain, Carson, Carter, Collins, Dobson, Hogan, Lilly, Lindsay, Marshall, Montgomery of H. Norman, Skinner, Spencer, Stedman, Williams, Wilson.

Saturday, Dec. 29.

Mr. Hinton presented a bill more effectually to preserve the purity of elections, and to protect the liberty of the citizens of this State; which was read the first time and rejected.

Mr. Houston presented a bill to incorporate the Cabarrus Artillery; and Mr. Hawkins, a bill for the better regulation of volunteers; which was read the first time, passed, and the first laid on the table.

The Senate then proceeded to take up the resolutions declaring the attachment of the General Assembly of this State to the Constitution of the United States, and denouncing the doctrine of Nullification; and the resolutions having been read the third time, Mr. Wilson moved to amend them by inserting the following preamble and resolution between the fifth and sixth resolutions:

And whereas, by the fifth article of the Constitution of the United States, it is provided that on the application of two thirds of the several States, Congress shall call a Convention for proposing amendments thereto; and whereas it is the opinion of this General Assembly that the said Constitution needs several amendments, restraining and restricting the powers of Congress and prescribing some tribunal to decide upon matters wherein the said Constitution and the Constitutions and rights of the States may be brought into question: therefore

Resolved, That the General Assembly does hereby make an application to the Congress of the United States, to call a Convention of the several States to propose amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved further, That this General Assembly request that the Legislatures of the several States will make to the Congress of the United States, a similar application; that the Constitution of the United States may be so amended as to restore peace and harmony to the confederacy, prevent a dissolution of the Union, and perpetuate the blessings of liberty to us and posterity.

Which amendment was agreed to, the Speaker voting in the affirmative.

Mr. Hall further moved to amend the resolutions by striking out the third resolution, and inserting [illegible] solved, that it is [illegible] duties, imposed by the Congress of the United States, is impolitic, unjust, oppressive and contrary to the spirit of the Constitution; that in this opinion we believe a very large majority of the people of this State concur, and that we have urged and will continue to urge its repeal." Which amendment was not agreed to. The question then recurring on the passage of the resolutions the third time, they were put to the House severally and separately and passed their third reading, except the preamble and resolutions adopted on Mr. Wilson's motion to amend, and ordered to be engrossed. [The 1st, 2d and the two last resolutions were adopted unanimously; the 3d by a vote of 57 to 2; and the 4th by a vote of 49 to 9.

Monday, Dec. 31.

The resolution requesting the State of South Carolina to suspend the operation of the Ordinance of their Convention, &c. was read the third time. Mr. Spaight moved to amend the preamble to said resolution, by striking out the words "*fourth of this month,*" and inserting in lieu there of the words "*fourth day of December, 1832,*" also to add the following as an additional resolution, to wit: "Resolved further, that a copy of the foregoing resolutions be transmitted by the Governor of this State to the Governor of the State of South Carolina;" which amendments were agreed to. Mr. Seawell moved further to amend the resolution by striking out the following words, to wit "to give time to the present or next Congress of the United States to act upon the subject of the Tariff;" which amendment was also agreed to, and the resolutions passed as amended—Ayes 50, Noes 8.

Tuesday, Jan. 1.

Mr. Carter presented the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas, by a Convention on the part of Tennessee, North Carolina and South Carolina, held at Asheville on the first Monday of September, 1832, it was then resolved that a Rail Road be constructed from the head of navigation upon the Holstein, in the State of Tennessee, along the valley of French Broad river, in North Carolina, to the head of navigation in South Carolina; and whereas the President of the United States has ordered a survey of said route, and the States of Tennessee and South Carolina have respectively made appropriations to defray the expenses of said survey within their respective limits:

Be it therefore resolved, by the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, that the sum of five hundred dollars be, and the same is hereby appropriated to the survey of said route within the limits of this State.

Be it further Resolved, that the Governor of the State be, and he is hereby authorised to issue his warrants upon the

Treasurer for the said sum, or so much thereof as he may deem necessary to the survey aforesaid; provided however, this resolution shall not have effect until satisfactory evidence is given to the Governor that similar appropriations have been made by the States of S. Carolina and Tennessee.

Which were read the first time & passed.

On motion of Mr. Collins, the Senate proceeded to take up and consider the bill to erect out of portions of the counties of Burke and Buncombe a separate and distinct county, by the name of Yancy. Whereupon the bill was read the second time and passed; and being read the third time, it was resolved that the same shall not pass—Ayes 25, Noes 29.

Ayes.—Messrs. Allison, Brittain, Carson, Carter, Dobson, Hogan, Hoke, Houston, Hussey, Kerr, Leak, Martin, Mussey, Nisbit, Montgomery of O. Moore, Morris, Parham, Parker, Ray, Seawell, Stedman, Toomer, Vanbook, Wellborn.

Nays.—Messrs. Askew, Bailey, Ball, Biddie, Bullock, Collins, Cowper, Dubbough, Faison, Gavin, Hall, Harrison, Hawkins, Hinton, Howell, Latham, Lindsay, Matthews, Melvin, Montgomery of H. Moye of G. Moye of P. Norman, Rhodes, Speight, Spencer, Wilder, Williams, Wilson.

FROM THE UNITED STATES TELEGRAPH.

To the People of the United States.

The recent proclamation of the President of the United States, in relation to the proceedings of South Carolina, contains some misrepresentations so mischievous, and some imputations so wanton and unfounded, as to require that the one should be corrected, and the other repelled, by a member of the Convention. This would have been done immediately after the publication of the proclamation, but for the daily expectation which has been heretofore indulged, that an opportunity would be presented of performing this duty in another place.

As the resolution now pending in the House of Representatives, requesting the President to communicate the ordinance of nullification to that House, will probably be postponed for somedays by the intervention of other business, there will be no occasion presented which will enable any member of the Convention to correct the errors of the proclamation, for some days, and probably some weeks to come.

Still intending to avail myself of the first opportunity which offers, to present, officially, a full exposition of the character of the proceedings of the South Carolina Convention, and of its constituted authorities, I feel constrained, in the mean time, to disabuse the State of some of the injurious impressions which have gone abroad, as to the nature and purpose of her proceedings, and which the proclamation of the President has principally contributed to propagate.

It is a source of regret, that the Chief Magistrate, having officially received an [illegible] all the proceedings of the South Carolina Convention, from the President of that body, with a request officially made, by its direction, that he would lay them before Congress, has not deemed it proper to comply with that request. At a period of portentous excitement, when all the conciliatory efforts of patriotism will scarcely prove adequate to carry the country through the perils and difficulties which beset it on all sides, without hazarding the existence of the Union, I should be extremely reluctant to believe, that the Chief Magistrate of these confederated and sovereign States, has assumed the responsibility of refusing to communicate those proceedings to Congress, with the deliberate purpose of adding a gratuitous insult to the injuries which a high minded and patriotic people, constituting a sovereign member of this confederacy, have too long and patiently borne. While I sincerely hope, therefore, that the delay which has occurred on the part of the Chief Magistrate, will turn out to have proceeded from causes not incompatible with a proper respect for the sovereign authority of South Carolina, I cannot but regret the injurious consequences which have resulted from that delay, connected with the erroneous representations contained in the proclamation. If the ordinance and the proceedings of the Convention had been communicated to Congress, and had gone out to the American people with the proclamation of the President, I should have confidently relied upon those proceedings to correct the errors of the proclamation, and vindicate the character of the State. But as it will result from the suppression of those documents, that thousands and hundreds of thousands of the people of the United States will form their opinion of the course pursued by South Carolina, and of her purposes, from the proclamation, without reading the proceedings of the Convention, I feel called upon, by the respect I entertain for the opinions of the other States of the confederacy, to remove all misapprehensions as to the attitude of South Carolina, in a few prominent aspects of her controversy with the Federal Government. And in the first place, I utterly deny and disclaim, on the part of the State of South Carolina, any design to resist the laws of the United States *by force*. The ordinance of nullification, upon its very face, and the explanatory documents which accompanied it, explicitly declares that *the State intends to act exclusively through the political and civil organs of her sovereign power, as a State.* She does not intend, and never has intended, to carry the interposition of her sovereign power to the extent that a neighboring State, with the countenance and approbation of the President, as it is generally understood, has carried the like interposition, by the almost unanimous concurrence of all the departments of her Government.

The State of Georgia has solemnly nullified the laws and treaties of the United States, disobeyed the decision of the Supreme Court affirming those laws and treaties, and threatened by her constituted authorities to resist the enforcement of that decision by actual force. South Carolina, on the contrary, explicitly disclaims any purpose of resisting the officers of the Federal Government, in enforcing the judgments of the Federal tribunals. If the Government can obtain judgments in the Federal courts the marshal will be permitted to enforce them peaceably. All that South Carolina claims in this respect, in virtue of her sovereignty, is the right to enforce the judgments of her courts in the like peaceable manner; and *it is absolutely impossible that any conflict of force can arise between the State of South Carolina and the Federal Government, unless the process of the courts of South Carolina shall be resisted by the military force of that Government.*

This is so extremely obvious, from the whole course of our proceedings and of the discussions connected with it, that it is much to be lamented that the President had not examined those proceedings more attentively, and comprehended their character and bearing more thoroughly, before he gratuitously, and I must be permitted to add, prematurely assumed the responsibility of denouncing the proceedings of a sovereign State, in a tone and temper calculating to produce any other result rather than a spirit of conciliation and harmony. As the laws for carrying into practical effect the ordinance of nullification, cannot go into operation before the first day of February next, I cannot perceive what great emergency required the President to raise the indignant spirit of a free people by the most disparaging and insulting imputations, and to threaten to decide this great contest for constitutional liberty by the bloody arbitrament of the sword, when he admits the injustice and oppression under which they labor, and recommends to Congress the expediency of restoring to them the very rights for which they are contending. If the assurance given to the people of South Carolina, in the proclamation, that "the condition of the country imperiously demands such a modification of the duties as should reduce them to a just and equitable scale," furnishes a reasonable ground to believe that such a modification will be made, every patriotic, not to say "paternal feeling," would seem to dictate the propriety of suspending the denunciation of Federal vengeance, until the effect of Federal justice should first be tried. Nothing can be more easy than for Congress to reduce the duties "to a just and equitable scale," long before the first day of February, if that body have any such disposition or intention. Such a modification would of course put an end to the controversy, and entirely supercede the necessity of resorting to the threatened measures of military violence—a resort which will assuredly put an end to the Union whenever it shall be made against any one of the States of this confederacy. I cannot but regret, therefore, the precipitate and fatal [illegible] that prevailed upon the President to make such an extraordinary exhibition of his "paternal feeling" towards South Carolina, as to threaten to imbrue his hands in the blood of the citizens of his "native State," because they had solemnly and deliberately resolved to make a peaceable appeal to the Constitution of the country, through the civil tribunals, to relieve themselves from a burthen which he admits to be unjust and oppressive!

In such a case, and under such circumstances, when "strict duty required of him nothing more than the exercise of those powers with which he was then, or might thereafter, be invested for preserving the peace of the Union, and for the execution of the laws," it is a subject of just regret, that he had not waited patiently until the emergency should arise which would constrain him to perform a paternal office towards his native State, which would seem to be painful to him, and would be certainly painful to her. It is true that if he had waited for this emergency, there might have been a hazard that it would never have occurred, and in that event the country would have lost the benefit of that extraordinary exposition of the origin and character of our political system, which will doubtless be edifying to a certain class of politicians in this country, and which differs in nothing from the doctrines of the ancient school of federalism and consolidation, except that these doctrines are improved and extended by the President in this new edition, and put forth in the form of a proclamation, with all the binding authority of the great seal of the United States! We should also have lost the benefit of the new and ingenious reading of the Constitution, which makes it subordinate to the laws of Congress, since we are assured in the proclamation that "our social compact in express terms declares, that the *laws of the United States*, its Constitution and treaties made under it, are the supreme law of the land," in opposition to the vulgar reading which places the Constitution above the acts of Congress, declaring that "this Constitution and *the laws made in pursuance thereof*, shall be the supreme law of the land." As these restrictive words impose a limitation upon the power of Congress, which may be very inconvenient, they seem to have been stricken out in this new version of the federal compact, under the idea that Congress requires no other check but the Presidential veto. For we are expressly told in reference to the final umpirage claimed for the States, that "the Constitution has given it to the representatives of all the people, checked by the representatives of the States, *and by the Executive power.*" The Supreme Court also, is thus silently elbowed out of its pretensions to decide in the last resort—in consequence, I presume, of its interfering with the President's views in the Georgia business, and this great power of final umpirage, so long contested between the States and the Supreme Court, is now boldly assumed by the President, thus cutting the Gordian knot by the sword of Alexander, and turning the doubtful scale by the sword and belt of Brennus.

But it is not my design to examine the doctrines of the proclamation in this form, and at this time. It is my purpose to correct its errors, and repel its calumnies. In reference to the proceedings of the Convention, the Proclamation contains these words: "Those who told you that you might peaceably prevent their execution [meaning the revenue laws] deceived you; they could not have been deceived themselves. They know that a forcible opposition could alone prevent the execution of the laws, and they know that such opposition must be repelled. Their object is disunion, but be not deceived by names: disunion by armed force is treason."

It is a mortifying spectacle to see the Chief Magistrate of the country prostituting his high office to the gratification of his personal revenge against particular individuals; and the more especially in a great crisis like the present, when he should imitate the noble example of a King of France, by sacrificing the vengeance of the man, to the dignity and the duty of the Chief Magistrate. The respect due to the Presidential office, and to myself, forbids me to reply to the charges here made in terms which they justly merit. I cannot descend to the level of the Chief Magistrate in the business of vulgar crimination; but I should be utterly lost to all the feelings of a man conscious of high and holy purposes, if I did not indignantly repel these charges as wanton, vindictive, and malicious calumnies, by whomsoever uttered, and by whomsoever advised.

That General Jackson should believe that a "forcible opposition to the laws of the United States can alone prevent their execution," is not to be wondered at by any one who knows how utterly incapable he is of the simplest process of legal reasoning. But I cannot admit that his ignorance in this respect, is any warrant or excuse for his wanton intrusion into the affairs of South Carolina: and his attempt to alienate the confidence of the people of that state from their Representatives, who have sacrificed every thing to vindicate their rights, by the reckless and unfounded assertion, that those Representatives have wilfully deceived them. There is no precedent in the Executive documents of the United States, or of the respective States, for such a prostitution of official dignity and decorum. An example can scarcely be found in the harangues of electioneering demagogues on the hustings of a county court.

If I were to assert that General Jackson and his advisers are attempting to deceive the people of South Carolina, with a view to interfere in their party struggles and influence their elections, there would be strong and obvious grounds for the assertion. It is impossible to ascribe the proclamation to any motive less censurable.

Whatever may be General Jackson's crude notions on the subject, every lawyer must perceive that, from the very organization of our political system, the sovereign power of a State must prevail over the power of the Federal Government, in all cases of civil controversy, in which the latter attempts to enforce, within the limits of the former, a law which it has pronounced unconstitutional in its highest sovereign character.

What is the value of a judgment of the Federal Court which the sovereign power of a State has pronounced to be a nullity? If the Marshal should levy upon the property of the defendant and expose it to sale, no title would pass to the nominal purchaser, and he would be liable to an action by which it would be recovered from him, of course no one would purchase. If to avoid this, Congress should abolish all credit for duties, and the Collector should seize the goods of the importer, the latter has only to institute his action of replevin in the State Court, and he will obtain immediate possession of his goods, upon giving bond and security to abide the event of the suit. It is precisely, in principle, the celebrated question of ship money, which has made the name of Hampden immortal. An unconstitutional act of Congress has no more authority in this country, than the proclamation of an English King had in England in the time of Charles the first. Fortunately for the cause of liberty, owing to the federal character of our political system, the question will not be tried by judges dependant upon the taxing power or by juries packed by a dependant sheriff. Liberty, therefore, will as certainly triumph in this great controversy here, as tyranny and oppression triumphed in England.

The Federal Government has no constitutional power to act against a sovereign State of the confederacy, in any case, or in any manner. It can only act upon the people of the state, and upon these only through its civil officers. The Federal marshal is the only officer who can constitutionally enforce judgment, and if he is resisted by force or violence, the President may aid him by military power. This is the only case in which the President can use the military in the execution of the revenue laws; and it is a case that certainly never will occur in South Carolina, under the process of Nullification. Nullification may prove to be an inefficient and inadequate remedy: but beyond all question, it is a peaceable one. It will be effected exclusively by the operation of the laws, and through the agency of the courts of justice. If it should prove inadequate to relieve the State from the existing oppression, it will remain for her to determine upon a more effective remedy, or make up her mind to wear her chains. The most unaccountable of all the misrepresentations in which the proclamation abounds, is the following: "These are the alternatives that are presented by the convention; a repeal of all the acts for raising revenue, leaving the government without the means of support, or an acquiescence in the dissolution of our union by the secession of one of its members." The misrepresentations contained in this sentence are so gross and palpable, that it is impossible to avoid one of these conclusions—either the President had not read the proceedings he was posting with such haste to denounce, or he deliberately intended to deceive the American people by a wilful misrepresentation, knowing that a large proportion of them would read the proclamation, who would never read the proceedings. The convention did not ask Congress to repeal any of its revenue laws, much less all of them. They were the laws for the protection of the products of northern industry, by imposing burthens upon the productions of southern industry, and no other, that it asked to have repealed. They were protecting, and not revenue duties against which it protested. In the address made by the convention to the people of the United States, the following views are distinctly expressed, indicating a plan of revenue in which the state would acquiesce, which, so far from "leaving the Government without the means of support," would yield any amount of revenue that the public service might require. "No substantial reason can be given for subjecting manufactures, obtained from abroad in exchange for the productions of South Carolina to the smallest duty, even for revenue, which would not show that similar manufactures made in the United States should be subject to the very same rate of duty. The former, not less than the latter, are, to every rational intent, the productions of domestic industry; and the mode of acquiring the one is as lawful, and more conducive to the public welfare, than that of acquiring the other.

"But we are willing to make a large offering to preserve the Union; and with a distinct declaration that it is a concession on our part, we will consent that the same rate of duty may be imposed upon the protected articles that shall be imposed upon the unprotected; provided that no more revenue be raised than is necessary to meet the demands of the government for constitutional purposes; and provided, also, that a duty substantially uniform be imposed upon all foreign imports."

It will be at once perceived that there is not a single point of resemblance between the alternative actually presented by the South Carolina Convention, and that set forth in the proclamation.

The proclamation affirms that, "if any attempt is made to execute the laws, the state is, by ordinance, declared to be out of the Union. There is no such declaration in the Ordinance; on the contrary, it is distinctly admitted on the very face of it that the Federal Government may enforce the law through the civil tribunals of the country.—It is the resort to military coercion—the making war against the sovereign power of South Carolina, that the ordinance declares will be regarded as absolving South Carolina from the political ties which bind her to the other states. This declaration was made in the spirit of fraternal harmony, with a view that if we could not adjust this great contest for liberty without staining our domestic altars with kindred blood, we might dissolve our political connexion, in a spirit of amity and part in peace.

The doctrine is now, for the first time, promulgated in this country, that the Union instead of being a voluntary association of sovereign States, is a consolidated despotism, and that a state cannot secede from the confederacy under whatever extremity of injustice and oppression, without incurring the guilt of treason, and subjecting itself to be dragooned into submission by the military force of the Federal Government! If these slavish doctrines are recognized by Congress, it is high time the Union was dissolved. I thank God, however, that Congress has not yet ratified this imperial edict, which is not surpassed by any thing that ever emanated from the most bold and audacious of the Cæsars. If it should be ratified by that body, it will furnish conclusive proof that the American people are much better prepared for an imperial despotism, than the Romans were when Augustus assumed the purple. Is it to be tolerated, that the Chief Magistrate of a confederacy of sovereign States, clothed with "a little petty brief authority," without any authority from the States which formed the compact, without any authority even from Congress, should dare to say to one of these sovereign States, "you shall not secede from the Union, though you are oppressed, but if you attempt it, you incur the guilt of treason?" Obviously assuming that the whole Government centres in himself, the President adds, "it cannot accede to the mad project of disunion, of which you would be the first victims. Its first magistrate cannot, if he would, avoid the performance of his duty—the consequences must be fearful for you, distressing to your fellow citizens here, and to the friends of good government throughout the world." Thus, amidst hypocritical professions of paternal feeling, like another Tiberius, thirsting for blood, he is striving to desolate the fair fields of the State which gave him birth, by attempting to stir up a portion of her citizens to commit rebellion and treason against her sovereign authority.

The annual message was joyfully hailed in South Carolina as the harbinger of better days and the olive branch of peace; but as if fearful that our unhappy difficulties would be adjusted, and that the credit would be ascribed to those who are the objects of his impotent and vindictive malice, the President has hurled this fire brand amidst the elements of strife known to exist in that State, where it can scarcely fail to produce a general combustion. On the despotic principles and doctrines contained in the proclamation, I will express my opinions in another form. At present I will only add, in the language of another, that "even in the days of the Stuarts, when English liberty was in the struggles of its infancy, that minister would have paid the forfeit with his head, who should have dared to advise the king to promulgate such an edict of despotism."

A MEMBER OF THE CONVENTION.

PUBLIC SENTIMENT.

From the Jeffersonian & Times.

We give below an article copied from the Editorial columns of the Danville Reporter. The intelligent and high-minded Editors of that paper have always been the undeviating advocates of the Administration—but they have also been the zealous supporters of State Rights. Compelled by the extraordinary Proclamation, either to surrender their principles—the principles for which the State has so long contended—or to give up a man, they have not hesitated in making the choice.

We direct the reader's attention to the remarks of the Danville Reporter:

"We have given our earnest and persevering support to General Jackson not as partizans who with eager servility were prepared to sacrifice principle to a base adulation of men; but because we believed the plan of his administration, carried out by his personal popularity, would restore the Government to a healthful and legitimate action. Our highest hopes were more than realized by his late message. It had gone forth as the harbinger of peace, the voice of conciliation, and was even in South Carolina doing its office. But who that had read that message—which breathed throughout with slight exceptions, the purest republican principles—which was hailed in the South as an angel of mercy with healing on its wings—the olive branch sent forth to heal our dissentions; proclaimed peace to the nation and to the world; could have conceived it possible that a proclamation should so quickly emanate from the same source, contradicting all its principles; claiming for the Federal Government a right to the exercise of powers, and maintaining principles, never before set up, even by the *Cd Black Cockade Federalists of the Reign of Terror!!!* You are astounded. Who is not? It is a fire brand, which will rekindle the flame which the message was well calculated to subdue. It has fallen upon his friends like a thunderbolt. Little, did those friends, who are still more, friends of state rights than of him—of the doctrines of '98 and '99; doctrines which have been hailed as the corner stone of our system of Government; for which we have declared, repeated, reiterated our determination to sustain at every hazard, as indispensable safeguards to our liberties; little did they expect to hear these sacred principles repudiated, by one who, with a knowledge of their feelings was indebted to their support for his elevation. But if a mere expression of these ultra Federal doctrines must produce feelings of regret, astonishment and humiliation, what words can express the horror of a true Virginian, when he sees that all the principles he had been taught to revere, as the test of his country's liberty and independence, are to be prostrated; forever annihilated by the very arm they expected to see stretched forth to save them, under the powers assumed for the General Government by the Proclamation; and these powers are to be enforced, not by the peaceful remedies which have been provided by the Constitution, but by military force; a resort to arms; the *arbiter of Kings and Tyrants.*

From the Richmond Whig.

Ourselves— Nullification and Secession.—The Lynchburg Virginian, the Lexington Union, Staunton Spectator, Kanawha Banner, Winchester Republican, and many others of our old friends and colabourers, are pleased to express their chagrin at the sympathy which they conceive us to have discovered for nullification. The Union says "we have waved high the nullification flag, and attacked the proclamation from the centre to the wings," and the same fact is virtually assumed by the rest.

One word to them conjointly. We have protested against the application of force to subdue South Carolina. We dispute the *right* to use force. We proclaim the absurdity of upholding a republic by force. A republic is a Government of *choice*, not of necessity; of love and affection, not of the bayonet; and we for one contend, that when it has ceased to be acceptable to its citizens, it ought to cease as a Government. Is this nullification?

We furthermore contend, that the military reduction of a State struggling for what she conceives our great and indestructible rights, would be a fatal precedent; that it would deter all other States from vindicating their constitutional rights and arresting usurpation; that it would leave Congress and the Federal Government without check or any other than parchment limitation; that the check of State interference withdrawn, the consolidating and centripetal tendency of the Federal power, would move on to speedy consummation; that we should rapidly assume the condition of provinces, in exchange for the dignity of sovereign States, united in a Federal compact; that to the *southern* States especially, this consideration ought to be of paramount, of solemn regard; for without reference to other striking causes, as *slave holding* communities they would be forever in a minority in Congress. Is this nullification?

Again we objected to the application of force to Carolina, because we are convinced it would kindle the flames of civil war in all the south—because we are persuaded the mass of the south would, sooner or later, take part with South Carolina—because *that* would terminate the Union eternally—because the south and north would then become as France and England until 1815—because the contest would be unequal, and could but end at last in another demonstration of the great truth proclaimed by all history, that conquest comes from the north. Is this nullification?

We are tariff men—we think it right & constitutional. We cannot therefore but think, that nullification for such a cause, is most absurd and ridiculous. But are we the judges for South Carolina? Is she not a sovereign State, and has she not the right to judge for herself? Are we at liberty to disbelieve the declarations of a whole people, when they solemnly tell the world, that their oppression is too grievous any longer to be borne? And whether it be so in fact or no, has she not the undoubted right of judging for herself?

But we ask these gentlemen, one and all, to answer us this. We know the non-slave-holding States to hold the preponderance in Congress, by an immense majority. We know dislike of African slavery (and not unnaturally) to be an all-pervading sentiment north of Maryland; we know also from the history of the Missouri question, that when fanaticism is roused, it is incapable of seeing constitutional barriers. Suppose then—and many sagacious men have not deemed the supposition illusory—the time had come when the north felt itself called upon to do God service, by terminating the existence of slavery, and the edict of abolition is promulgated? Resolving, remonstrance, petition, convention, and amendment, are tried in vain. The decree is irrevocable. Woe unto ye who brandish nullification with so much glee as the raw head and bloody bone which is to alarm *men* from announcing their opinions—what would ye then do? Would you nullify? Perhaps you say that we would secede! But, forget not that yourselves declare nullification is but another name for *secession!* It is the same, then, and not the thing, which fills you with holy horror!

You do not, however, rest contented with hurling anathemas at *nullification*. You accept the entire proclamation! You go with Harrison Gray Otis, and with every federalist in the U. States, in singing hosannas to it and its author's praise. You *except* nothing: you *accept* all. Well, this very proclamation denies the right of *secession*. Come what may, you agree that we are bound by adamantine chains to the wheel of the Federal Government. Though our property be taken, though our liberty of speech be punished, though our religion itself be prescribed to us from Washington, you echo Gen. Jackson to the skies, when he says we still may not secede; that it will be *treason* if we do, and that those taken in resistance shall be treated as traitors, and not as prisoners of war! Merciful God! that freemen should forge the chains for their own and their children's limbs!

As for nullification, these gentlemen need not "shake their gory locks at us." We care not for the name. We are no nullifiers in the present case, and for the excellent reason, that we like the tariff. But emergencies might arise, as emergencies have arisen in the experience of nations, when we would nullify—in other words, when we would turn against the oppressor. So would they—so would every man in Virginia. Why dispute about nullification? It means this: that all oppose it who do not practise it; and all will practise it, when they think it expedient.

CORRECT VIEWS.

We copy the following from the Boston Commercial Gazette, almost the only paper that reflects the spirit of old Massachusetts in 1776: *Jeffersonian.*

"We must not threaten to use force against them. And it is matter of doubt, with some of the friends of the administration, whether the President has not gone too far, in threatening to put down South Carolina by force. It is not a petty rebellion, nor an insurrection: it is a whole sovereign State that speaks and acts. And force is not the proper word to quiet or use towards them. It is a movement and a convention of all the States. If Carolina has been hasty and rash, let not the federal rulers be so also, on their part. And let not the people of this State urge the President to resort to force, in any event, except the prevention of national ruin requires it. What if the general government had attempted to put down this State by force in 1808, or in 1814; would the people have submitted? Would they have thought it just to be awed by an army, when acting as a whole State? If the high tariff policy is not contrary to the letter of the Constitution, many believe it inconsistent with its spirit and meaning. And it is most important that when a whole State pronounces a law unconstitutional, the general government consider that it is in the right to enforce obedience; and that the people refrain from giving their sanction to usurped power in Congress. Congress may, by a small majority, pass an unconstitutional law. And there is no obstacle to tyranny and oppression in the federal government, but by the State, or a state opposing or refusing to obey it, and calling other States to join."

Consistency thy name is Jackson!—General Jackson said, in his message of 1830—"An abandonment of the policy, by which it (the tariff) originated—a policy coeval with our Government, and pursued through successive administrations, is neither to be expected nor desired."

Contrast this with the language of his last message, and then answer us, what effected the change?

Albany Daily Adv.

The Legislature of Alabama recently passed a resolution to illuminate the Capitol as a manifestation of their joy at the re election of Jackson. An amendment was offered so as to include Mr. Van Buren, which was rejected.

Letter from Washington to the Editor of the "Central Reflector."

We extract the following letter from the "Central Reflector," published at Pittsborough, Chatham County in this State. It is evidently from some Member of Congress of this State to the Editor of the Reflector, and deserves particular notice from the good sense and patriotism that appear in every part of it:

"The Proclamation of the President has thrown us into a good deal of excitement and fearful apprehension. To say the least of it, it is at this time a very injudicious thing. His annual message was a most excellent one—calm—sensible and firm. The ground taken by him relative to the Tariff, as well as to Nullification, was a very sensible and a very judicious one. It was likely to have the happiest effects. The Tariff party saw at once that they must come down, and would, I believe, have done so, but for the Proclamation of the President. The Nullifiers too, saw that if the Tariff should be reduced in accordance with the views of the Executive, that they must rescind their Ordinance.—They would have done so instantly. But the Proclamation has changed the tone of the Tariff party. Those who then talked of modifying the Tariff and conceding for the purpose of saving the Union, now talk only of the sword and the bayonet to save the Union!! To my mind, this is abhorrent to the name and spirit of our institutions. The Union can never be preserved by military *coercion*. The moment the sword is drawn to coerce a sovereign State into the Union, that moment the liberties of the country are gone. I have been opposed to the course pursued by South Carolina. I wish she had waited a year or two longer, to see if the Tariff party would not, from a sense of justice, modify it. If that party refused to modify it, now that the public debt is paid, it would be a good cause of resistance on the part of all the agricultural States. If the Tariff party now refuse to modify, when there is no longer any use for such high duties, and thereby drive one of the States from the Union, I for one will not consent to drench the sword in the blood of her citizens, in order to force her back. Let us rather endeavour to bring her back by the mildness, equity and justice of our legislation. This is the only way in which the Union can be preserved—It is the only way in which it ought to be preserved. If the friends of the Tariff love the Union and wish to preserve it, as I have no doubt they do, let them come forward and save it, not by bloodshed and the sword, but by doing what justice as well as patriotism demand *by reducing the Tariff to the necessary wants of the Government*. If they refuse to do this, and rather wish to arm the President with military power to drench the soil of Carolina in Carolina's best blood, they shall not have my aid in that sanguinary work of death. If the President wishes to exercise such a power, he shall not have my authority for doing it. You know my disposition. I never desert my friends as long as their actions are defensible. I have great attachment for the President, and great confidence in his patriotism; but my greatest and best friend is my country, and her liberties my richest treasure. Discarding all personal considerations, I shall look with singleness of heart to the safety of my country and the preservation of her liberties. I regret the Proclamation—It could do no good—It has already done much harm.—I am opposed as you know to Nullification and always have been; but there are principles contained in the Proclamation, which, if carried into practice, must lead to despotism—to a consolidation of all power in the Federal Government, and a total annihilation of the rights and sovereignty of the States. To such principles I object, because they make ours a *consolidated* government instead of a *confederated* government. They make this government one single Nation, instead of a government formed of many governments—"*e pluribus unum*." Nullification and consolidation are two extremes in our political system, both of which should be guarded against—while the former may lead to a disunion of the States, the latter is certain to lead to a destruction of the liberties of the people. I hope we shall avoid these two extremes—I believe the President in practice will avoid both—Such at least has heretofore been his political course.

The Ordinance of South Carolina in which she resolves to secede from the Union unless the protective system is modified, followed by the Proclamation of the President in which he threatens to coerce her by military force, is well calculated to create terror, and alarm among the people. They seem to forebode civil war, but I believe such a catastrophe may and will be avoided. I know there are many members distinguished for their patriotism and ability who will make every possible exertion to effect a satisfactory adjustment of the Tariff, and who will equally oppose the exercise of military power by the President as inexpedient and dangerous to the liberties of the country. They will endeavor, and I trust with success, to harmonize the members of this great family by forbearance, compromise and conciliation. If once the family altar be stained with blood, the breach never can be healed and the Union is at an end."

Extracts from a letter of the "Spy in Washington," to the editor of the New York Courier and Enquirer, dated Dec. 27th, 1832.

The friends of the President appear to be pleased with the countenance and support of the northern federalists; but wish them to give that support to the administration, without assigning their reason for so doing.

The "Anglo Federalists," as Mr. Jefferson termed them, enjoy a more complete triumph, in the doctrines of the proclamation, than they have ever enjoyed since the first year of the elder Adams reign. I have no knowledge of any public document since the organization of the Government, which carries out, so completely as it does the principles for which Gen. Hamilton contended in the Convention that formed the Constitution.

Mr. Hamilton said, "All federal Governments are weak and distracted. We must establish a national Government completely sovereign, and annihilate State distinctions and State operations." But General Hamilton was overruled, and we escaped a consolidated Government.

Mr. Mason, of Virginia, during the discussion, exclaimed—"What! would you use military force to compel the observance of a social compact? I never will consent to destroy the State Governments." And,

Mr. Bedford, of Delaware, in contending for State rights, and particularly the rights of the small States, remarked, that, "sooner than be ruined, there are foreign powers, that will take us by the hand." These quotations are now made to show you with what pertinacity the sovereignty of the States was sustained, and how difficult was the task of bringing these several sovereignties to unite even in a federal Government.

"I have heard some babblers comparing, what is termed the whiskey insurrection in Pennsylvania, to the position in which So. Carolina is now placed. Let us first notice an essential difference. South Carolina is acting through her regular and duly constituted organs of Government, as a *State*, in her sovereign capacity. The Pennsylvania insurrection was the act of *unauthorised* individuals, in opposition to the *State* and *General* Government."

Extract of a letter from a Washington Correspondent to the Editor of the "*American Mercury*."

It is generally supposed, here that S. Carolina has always calculated upon the prevalence of the southern doctrine, that she could not be, and should not be coerced and it is not yet quite settled whether certain States will suffer her to be. But the President stands firm, and talks openly to every one about his determination. "God," he says, "may stop him, but Andrew Jackson will not be stopped by any power on earth!" He swears, South Carolina shall be brought under."

We have once more a grand issue of Presidential and ministerial promises: more hopes of an equitable adjustment; a sort of perpetual political to morrow, always at hand, that never arrives; a kind of political millenium, that every prophet announces, as just coming, a species of horizon, that shifts as fast as we follow it.

No one can have forgotton the confidence—nay, violence of assertion, with which Mr. McLane and all his minions of the Treasury, from Col. Drayton down to the lowest ribaid that takes the presidential pay, insisted—swore, last summer, that the tariff was reduced down to the revenue standard; that twelve millions had been taken off. See the Charleston Patriot, the Richmond Enq., the Globe, Col. Drayton, Mr. R. Smith, and all the rest.

Now, what have we? Before the tariff of 1832. has even been tried; and after the grand pension system has gone into operation, that must already take several millions from the treasury, we have, in a proposal by the secretary, to reduce the tariff six millions more, a clear avowal that all the former statements that he has given are utterly false!—*Col. Telescope.*

From the Free Trade Evening Post.

The Tariff.—Mr Verplanck, from the committee of Ways and Means, has reported a bill to reduce the Tariff which is published at length in the National Intelligencer. We have not had time to compare its provisions with the existing law, but understand it provides for some material reductions. It is truly unfortunate, that at the very moment that measures are about to be taken for an immediate reduction of the Tariff, that the Union presses of this city (see *Patriot* of Monday last) should be taking ground against any such reduction.

☞ The communication from the Telegraph, over the signature of a "MEMBER of the Convention," will attract attention. The high character of the author will secure for it a perusal from all sides.

We are happy that the friends of the Constitution are coming out in this crisis of our affairs. The first number of a series, over the signature of "A VIRGINIAN," who has taken the Proclamation in hand, has appeared in the Norfolk Herald. It will appear in our next, and will command the public attention. The spirit of '98 is rising, and we trust that they who fought the battle then, will not remain inactive now. The character of the writer, will be sustained, we doubt not, in these numbers.

FROM THE FAYETTEVILLE OBSERVER.

The Proclamation.—We stated, a week or two ago, our belief that the President's Proclamation would be almost universally acceptable to the People of this State. We have since ascertained that this opinion was not well founded, and it is our duty to state the fact. Its doctrines are not only dissented from in some of the public Journals, but many individuals, friends of Jackson and of the Union, disapprove of them, considering them as abandoning all the ground acquired by the Republican Party in the struggles of '98, and as going the whole length of the Federal doctrines of that era. Many who were led away by its eloquence, and the anticipation of a good result from its patriotic spirit and heart-stirring appeals, have, upon a more sober and deliberate examination, spoken freely their dissent. The number of these will be increased by the enthusiasm with which the Clay men, the Tariff men, and the Hartford Convention Federalists, at the North and East, have received it.

SALISBURY,

JAN. 14, 1833.

STATE LEGISLATURE.

This session, so far as we have seen, has done nothing of importance. The Bill to establish a new Bank, has passed the Commons by a large majority, and we hope will pass the Senate, for there is great need for a new Bank. The existing banks are winding up their affairs with great rapidity, and unless a new institution is soon put into operation, what will be the condition of the State? Even now, our *circulating medium* is mostly of the notes of other States.

Some relief will be given to the community, by the dividend of a part of the capital stock of the State Bank of North Carolina, which will soon be made, as a committee was appointed at the annual meeting of the Directors, to report on this day, what proportion should be paid to the stockholders.

We see that Mr. Toomer's resolutions respecting the Tariff and Nullification, have passed both Houses by large majorities. If they did not come out as they do against the Tariff and *Internal Improvements*, they would be a subject of great rejoicing to the Tariffites inasmuch as they disapprove Nullification, but unfortunately for these men while they laugh with their mouths they have to cry with their eyes, and what is worse than all to them, no approval of the *Proclamation* is there to be found, or any of its fearful doctrines.

HENRY SEAWELL, Esq., has been elected by the Legislature, Judge of the Superior Court, in the place of Judge Daniel, elected to the Supreme Court Bench.—We give the 1st and 2nd ballotings, the only ones yet heard of:

	1st	2nd
Seawell, ...	58	65
Eccles, ...	32	33
Pearson, ...	32	27

The rest scattering.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

The bill to establish the Merchants' Bank in the town of Newbern, was read the third time, and ordered to be engrossed. The bill to establish the Bank of North Carolina, was read the third time, amended and ordered to be engrossed. The resolution to adjourn on Saturday last, was rescinded.

VIRGINIA FEELING.

A writer in the Jeffersonian, addresses the young men of Virginia, and calls on them to hold themselves in readiness, to march to South Carolina, in defence of southern rights and liberty, the moment the General Government shall commence the work of blood and carnage. We have heard it stated, that some of the first men in Virginia, and among the rest, some high in office, have manifested their determination to go as VOLUNTEERS, to South Carolina, and fight under her banner, should the crisis demand it. A writer in the National Intelligencer, over the signature of "Agrarius," says, "The Presidents proclamation has given such an excitement, that thousands are ready to march to the assistance of South Carolina, and the first blow against her, will set them on the march." Other distinguished Virginians, have openly declared, that if a Northern army passes through that State, they will have to march [illegible] their *dead bodies*. "Let not the Government, says "Agrarius" be deceived by any representation of *passiveness and neutrality*, that the delegation in Congress, from this State may make. The present crisis has awakened feelings of which they are ignorant." In a word, every indication from the "Old Dominion," shows that the *people* are awakening, from the MOUNTAINS to the SEABOARD.

A PROOF IN POINT, THAT OUR GOVERNMENT IS A CONFEDERACY, AND NOT A CONSOLIDATED EMPIRE.

It appears from the actual returns of the recent presidential election, that the popular vote for President, in the following States, stood thus, viz:—In the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Ohio, Jackson received 540,761 votes, while the anti-Jackson vote, was 542,843, giving a majority *against* Jackson, of 2,082 votes; and yet, of the *electoral votes* in these States, Jackson received 118 out of 153.

How is this? Why, it arises altogether from the fact, that the people of the STATES give their votes as *separate communities*, not as the people composing one *whole* community.

North Carolina is now entitled to 15 electors, but if the principles of *consolidation* prevailed, that is, take off the two electors for the *Sovereignty* of the State, and take off the allowance for federal numbers, and it will be found that instead of 15 electors, North Carolina would be entitled only to about SEVEN, thus losing more than half of her weight IN THE government.

CONSOLIDATION never will do for the South.

THE OXFORD EXAMINER.

One of the most spirited papers published in this State, is the Oxford Examiner. The Editor is truly a Republican of the old school and maintains the doctrines of 98 with manliness and ability. He says that he will "neither deny, nor avow nullification, because there are so many different things called by the same name, that we cannot lay our hands upon the precise thing,—it is not tangible." He is decidedly opposed to any attempt on the part of the Federal Government to put down South Carolina by brute force, and thinks that the government has no power to do so.

On account of his independent and firm support of his principles, a system of persecution has been commenced against him. He is however not to be driven from his duty; he declares rather than give up his honest opinions,—principles that he has ever believed in, he will suffer the worst that can come.

What a difference between the spirit of Mr. Yancy, and that of some Editors, we could name who are mere echos of certain fugleman priests.

OUR SENATORS IN CONGRESS

Our Senators in Congress, delivered speeches on the resolution calling on Mr. McLane Secretary of the Treasury to submit a plan for reducing the Tariff. The speech of Mr. Mangum, is of considerable length, and we are much pleased with the spirit that runs through the whole of it; it is the language of a freeman, thinking and speaking like a freeman and as becomes the Representative of free-men. Mr. Mangum had let himself a little down by his exhibition in the Hillsborough meeting: his course there looked a good deal like inconsistency occasioned by the want of moral courage; but his present bearing will soon bring him up again. North Carolina has long rested under the imputation of possessing no character of her own—of always being *under tone*—and of dragging along in the wake of others; if there be any truth in this accusation, it is to be attributed altogether to the *want of tone* in our members of Congress. We never wish to see violence, but firmness and independence

Mr. Brown, has also spoken out, with praiseworthy spirit, though you may still see the influence of party discipline hanging around him; he should throw it off, for these are no times for *Man Worship*; liberty is in danger, and we ought to spurn the hand that draws the dagger, no matter whose it is

MR. VAN BUREN & THE PROCLAMATION

It is stated in the New York "Courier and Enquirer," that Mr. Van Buren has written a letter to some person in that city, declaring that he will not support the principles contained in the Proclamation. That Mr Van Buren has always professed to be opposed to such principles, is very certain; but, whether he will *now* come out and denounce them, is what we very much doubt. If he does, there is something *behind the curtain*.

CONSISTENCY.

Who that has read the PROCLAMATION, and the MESSAGE but has been struck with the different spirit and opposite principles contained in them; They are as far apart as are the two poles;—they resemble each other about as much as night resembles day,—and yet the GLOBE the official paper, says "The Proclamation is by some misunderstood & by others perverted,—there is no incompatibility between it, and the Message." Do these men think that the people are fools, stark naked fools?

THE RICHMOND WHIG.

We invite the attention of every reader to a short article in this paper, taken from the RICHMOND WHIG. The editor is a Clay-man, and friendly to the Tariff,—but he is also a true hearted Virginian,—who feels like a free-man, and speaks like one. His suggestions, briefly thrown out, may serve as text for every Southern man to ponder on. Let all reflect, and consider on the present state of affairs, before it is too late—If this, worse than mad scheme of Genl. Jackson's, to use force against a sovereign State, be tolerated in the South, not [illegible] state-rights, but personal rights,—liberty itself will soon expire.

The Honorable JOHN C. CALHOUN, of South Carolina, took his seat on the 4th inst., in the Senate of the United States, after his credentials had been read, and taking the usual oath to support the Constitution of the United States. In the course of the day, the President of the Senate, communicated a letter from the Secretary of State, enclosing a copy of the letter of resignation of the office of Vice President of the United States, from the Hon. J. C. Calhoun, on file in that department.

GEORGIA NULLIFICATION.

The Governor of Georgia, it will be recollected, some weeks ago received a notification from the attorney of the missionaries now in the Penitentiary, informing him that application would be made to the *Supreme Court* of the United States on the second of February for a writ of Habeas Corpus to have them delivered out of confinement, Gov. Lumpkin on receiving this notice transmitted to the Legislature then in session the following communication.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, GEO.
Milledgeville, Nov. 29, 1832.

I submit to the General Assembly, copies of notices signed "Elisha W. Chester, as Counsel for Samuel A. Worcester and Elisur Butler," informing me of an intended application to the Supreme Court, on the 2d day of February, 1833, when said Court will be moved to issue further process, to carry into effect its former Judgments and Decrees, rendered in certain cases, wherein the said Samuel A. Worcester and Elisur Butler are considered Plaintiffs in Error, vs. the State of Georgia, defendant in Error.

Without further remark upon this subject, I renew to the Legislature, the assurance of my unshaken determination to disregard all unconstitutional requisitions, appertaining to the consideration, or of any other character, or origin whatever, which may be calculated to overturn the unquestionable rights and jurisdiction of the State.

WILSON LUMPKIN.

The Message of the Governor with the notice was referred by the Legislature to the committee on the state of the Republic. That com. made a Report and Resolutions asserting State Rights in the strongest language and declaring that all such attempts of the Supreme Court should be disobeyed and resisted. These Resolutions were adopted almost by a unanimous vote—and yet many of the persons who voted for these Resolutions voted to denounce *South Carolina* nullification! what ought to be thought of such men?

Since writing the above, we have seen the resolutions, reported by the committee,—here they are:

FROM THE GEORGIA JOURNAL.

"*Resolved, by the Senate & House of Representatives of the State of Georgia in General Assembly met.* That the resolutions passed at the last session of the General Assembly of this state, in relation to the citation by the Supreme Court of the United States, in the cases of Sam'l. A. Worcester and Elisur Butler, are expressive of the feelings of this legislature.

Resolved. That his excellency be, and he is hereby authorized and required to maintain the position assumed by the State in said resolutions, and particularly by all the means placed under his control by the Constitution and laws of this State, to resist, repel, and prevent the enforcement of the late decree of the Supreme Court, overruling and revising the decisions of the Superior Court of Gwinett county, in the case of S. A. Worcester and E. Butler.

THE NATURE OF OUR GOVERNMENT.

A political writer of great ability under the signature of "A Virginian" has commenced a series of essays in the "Norfolk Herald" on the nature and powers of the Federal Government. They have been attributed to the pen either of Mr. Tazewell, or Gen. Taylor. The writer takes up the principles of the PROCLAMATION, and refutes them so far as we have yet seen, in the most triumphant manner. In fact the proclamation every where like a test in chemistry, is drawing out the principles of the nation, and showing who is for CONSOLIDATION and who against it; Never since the darkest hour of the Revolutionary war were the principles of liberty in so great danger as now,—and yet thousands of the people are slumbering and indifferent to what is going on.

If ever there was a time, when every intelligent man in the community should make it a matter of *conscience* to understand the nature and principles of our Government, *now is that time*. Party prejudice should be laid aside,—we should forget whether we were Jackson men, or Clay men, Tariff men or Anti Tariff men, and set seriously about studying the principles of liberty and just government.

Our only safety is in the intelligence and patriotism of the people. Liberty can only be preserved by perpetual vigilance.

The following is an extract from the first number of a Virginian:

Hence, it resulted, and from necessity too, that while all the powers of all our governments are derivative and temporary, the rights of those who created these governments are self existent and eternal. Therefore, in each of these United States, the people, by whom all our governments were created and established, are the only legitimate sovereigns. Governors and magistrates of all sorts, are but the agents and servants of these their creators, appointed to attain the good of the people, by the exercise of the powers and authorities granted to them for that purpose by the people, and responsible to the people for the manner in which all these duties have been performed or neglected.

In the relations between such a sovereign and such its agents, the idea of a compact of any kind, can find no place. In governments whose powers rest upon force, the victor sovereign may grant to its vanquished subjects rights and immunities which, being designed for the benefit of the grantees, constitute a limit upon the authority of the grantor, in being irrevocable. Such grants may well be termed compacts between the granting Sovereign and his accepting subjects, solemn agreements which neither party may of right alter without the consent of the other. So, too, in governments of unknown antiquity, according to the theory of whose unwritten law the Governors are omnipotent; even if this vast power be derived not from force but [illegible] moral absurdity of a compact between a creator and his mere creature, who was formed for the creator's own use.

It results from all this, that whatever of truth there may be in the theory of the political philosophers of the old world, which considers government, there is a compact between the governors and governed, no such theory can be true here. None of our governments can ever be considered as such compacts. They are mere revocable procuratipes, simple delegations of limited and temporary authority, executed by the sovereign people to their different agents as their attorneys, which agents are thereby authorized and required by their constituents to accomplish certain purposes, by certain defined means, the constituents thereby allowing and confirming whatsoever shall be done by their attorneys, under this power and in pursuance of its authorities, but nothing else.—Here governors can derive no power *jure divino*, for they are known to be the mere creatures of man's will, and designed for his use. Here they can claim no omnipotent authority, for the people created them, and the creator must be superior to his creature. Here every legitimate power exercised by governors must be derived from grant, and when so derived it is of course defined and limited. Here the people gave all that is given, may take away at their pleasure all that they have given, and we all unite in calling down blessings upon the sovereign people.

But who is this mighty and blessed and sovereign people, the authors and preservers of the most stupendous work of human invention for the security and perpetuation of the liberty of man? The answer to this inquiry shall constitute the subject of my next number.

A VIRGINIAN.

ANOTHER OUTRAGE.

General Blair, of South Carolina, entered the theatre in this city, night before last, armed with *four* pistols and *two* dirks. During the progress of the play, he deliberately drew one of the pistols and fired it—the ball striking the stage very near where Mr. Palmer & Miss Jefferson were standing. The officers of the house threatening to remove him by force, he promised that if they would permit him to remain, *he would behave like a gentleman*; but in a few minutes attempted to draw another pistol; being remonstrated with, he left the stage box, and took one of the front seats, where he deliberately drew another pistol, cocked and pointed it at the stage. The actors, and the audience demanding it, he was then disarmed, and dragged by force from his seat; upon reaching the lobby, he drew off his coat and played the bully in true [illegible] style!! *Telegraph.*

Married,

MARRIED, in this County, on the 8th inst., by the Rev. William Hall, Mr. James Steele, to Miss Mary Williamson.

Also

DIED,

In this County, on the night of the 8th inst., Mr. Francis Gibson. In the death of this truly estimable citizen, society has sustained a loss which will not be soon repaired.

FARMERS HOTEL.

THE subscriber having purchased the House and Lot formerly occupied by his father Samuel Jones as a Tavern, takes this method to inform his former customers, and the public generally, that he has opened the above House, and is now ready to accommodate boarders and travellers at reduced prices. His table will be furnished with as good as the market affords, and tables shall be plentifully supplied. Liquors will be kept in the house, but gentlemen can be supplied in private rooms. His brother Matthew Jones will keep constantly on hand, one door below, a variety of domestic liquors, &c. &c.

He hopes by constant attention to give general satisfaction and reclaim the custom he has lost by the want of a good house with convenient and pleasant rooms.

Country produce will be taken in exchange for boarding.

JOHN JONES.

Salisbury, Jan. 14, 1833. 52tf

List of Letters

REMAINING in the Post Office at Lexington, N. Carolina, the 1st day of January 1833.

Blumenau Dr.	Lee Green Hill
Cornish John	Miller Jacob jun.
Conifer Elizabeth	Miller Alexander
Calloway John	Miller Thomas
Dillard Joseph	Pilcher Thomas
Etherton William	Sandridge Edward
Gentry Alexander	Sapp Richard
Gentry Henry	Smith Peter
Hunt William	Sharp Absalom
Hendrix Reberiana	Sandridge Jacob
Hoak	Shepard Henry
Holmes Moses	Shaw Thomas
Hedrick Moses	Swicegood Solomon
Lacey Daniel	Tarleton Thomas
Lanier Elijah	Yates Eli

3t60 M. BODENHAMER, P. M.

Temperance Meeting

A MEETING of the friends of TEMPERANCE, in Iredell County, will take place in Statesville, on Tuesday of February Court, 1833, at 1 o'clock, P. M., to form a County Temperance Society.

NEW & CHEAP GOODS.

HUIE & CLIDE,

ARE NOW RECEIVING THEIR

Fall & Winter Goods, From New York & Philadelphia.

WE respectfully solicit our friends to call and examine before they buy, we give them our thankful acknowledgments for their Liberal patronage since we commenced Business, and shall feel grateful for a continuance of the same.

Salisbury, Dec. 1st 1832. 52tf

FRESH & FASHIONABLE FALL & WINTER GOODS.

Now receiving and opening at the Store of

JOHN MURPHY,

IN S. L. SUTH

A Large & Extensive Assortment

Both in Variety and Amount of Fresh and

Fashionable Fall & Winter

GOODS,

Selected with the utmost care, and bought entirely for cash, in

New York and Philadelphia,

From the Latest Styles of 1832

His customers and the public generally are respectfully requested to call, see, hear & judge, each and every one for himself.

The extensive assortment and low rates of his prices, must most certainly induce the public to believe that goods cannot be sold lower in this section of country.

J. M. hopes by close and steady attention to business, and a free and willing mind to render to all who may favor him with their calls, such accommodations as shall merit their continuance.

N. B. All persons indebted to me are requested to make payment by the first day of January next or give their notes with security if required.

JOHN MURPHY.

November 1832. 3t59

STILLS AND TIN WARE.

THE subscriber continues the manufacture of STILLS & TIN WARE, warranted to be made of the best materials, and in a superior style of workmanship. Having a large stock of Stills and Tin ware on hand, and being determined to sell at reduced prices, merchants and others would do well to call on him and get their supply.

☞ Old Copper, Pewter, Feathers, Tallow Beeswax and Wool taken in exchange.

WANTED, two first rate journeymen Tin plate workmen, of steady habits that are accustomed to work on machinery, to whom constant employment and liberal wages will be given.

DANIEL H. CREES.

Sept. 7th 1832. 49tf

JOB PRINTING

EXECUTED WITH NEATNESS And DISPATCH, AT THIS OFFICE.

POETRY.

THE PORTIONLESS ONE

Nobility is on his brow,
His gentle smile return provokes;
But, ah! the truth to tell it how—
We part to meet no more—he smokes.

Yes the dark fact is all too true—
My heart from what it beats for shrinks,
To what it thirsts for side with;
For, oh, the headstrong ass! he drinks.

Ye virgins soft, who think me hard,
Hear further what my union stays,
And say if you'd not too discard
The darling gambler—yes, he plays.

He sweep, the truth, I've yet to sing,
He smokes—that I no portion own;
He drinks—of the Flerean spring;
He plays—but on the flute alone.

To such a man could I but be
A ready prize!—but mark what said he;
Lady, also, a prize to me
Is not who is, but has the 'ready!"

The following song is from *Dermot Mac.Morough, or the conquest of Ireland*; an Historical Tale of the Twelfth Century, by JOHN O. ADAMS:

Slough shines as bright in beauty's eyes,
As the bold warrior's gallant bearing;
The proudest deems his heart a prize;
The fairest would his fate be sharing;
Let Truth, let Valor be thy guide;
And faithful love thy priceless jewel—
Thou ne'er shall lack a lonely bride;
Nor find a female bosom cruel.

'Tis true, the soldier's life is short;
But what is life deprived of action?
The craven coward's base resort;
A universe without attraction.
Then urge thy courser to the field,
And thou shalt gain renown in story—
Compel the fiercest foe to yield;
Or die upon the bed of glory.

VARIETY.

THE SEXAGENARY

Or Revolutionary Reminiscences.

Every moment the scene was growing more interesting. As we came near the main body of the enemy, which we approached within three fourths of a mile, and while we were looking round to observe the movements of different detachment about us, which we could do very distinctly, we observed a flash from a cannon, and almost instantly saw a ball come out of the Saratoga church, apparently deadened by the resistance it had met. It passed over our heads with a slight whizzing, and struck in the sand behind us, at the distance of three hundred yards. In a few moments another, its fellow, passed through the church in the same manner, and struck in the same bank of earth beyond us. I judged that the range of these shots was about a mile. The church long exhibited the marks of the ball; but it was pulled down some years ago and another of more modern appearance is now devoted in its place to religious worship. We did not remain in our position any longer. We were well satisfied that we had exposed ourselves sufficiently for the present to gratify our curiosity. An anecdote recurs to my recollection which shews the daring of our soldiers. It is well known that the east side of the river was lined with militia. One of them discovered a number of the enemy's horses feeding in a meadow of Gen. Schuyler's, opposite, he asked permission of his Captain to go over and get one of them. It was given, & the man instantly stripped, and swam forward across the river. He ascended the bank, and selecting a bay horse for his victim, approached the animal gained him, and mounted him instantly. This last was the work of a moment. He forced the horse into a gallop, plunged down the bank and brought him safely over to the American camp, although a volley of musquetry was fired at him from a party posted at a distance beyond. His success was hailed with enthusiasm, and it had a corresponding effect on his own adventurous spirit. After he had rested himself, he went to his officer and remarked, that it was not proper that a private should ride while his commander went on foot. Sir, added he if you have no objection I will go and catch another for you, and next winter when we are home we will have our own fun in driving a pair of Burgoyne's horses? The Captain seemed to think it would be rather a pleasant thing, and gave a ready consent. The fellow actually went across a second time, and with equal success brought over a horse that matched exceedingly well with the other. The men enjoyed this prank very much, and it was a circumstance familiar to almost every one in the army at that time.

Another circumstance also occurs to me, which happened at the same period, and shews that families were not only divided in feeling on the subject of the war, but that the natural ties which bind the same "kith and kin" together were not always proof against the political animosities of the times. When Burgoyne found that his boats were not safe, and were in fact much nearer to the main body of our army than his own, it became necessary to hasten his provisions, of which he had already been short for many weeks, in order to prevent his being actually starved into submission. This was done under a heavy fire from our troops. On one of these occasions a person by the name of Mr.——, well known at Salem, and a foreigner by birth, and who had at the very time a son in the British army, crossed the river at DeRuyters, with a person by the name of M'Neil; they went in a canoe, and arriving opposite to the place intended, crossed over to the western bank, on which a redoubt called Fort Lawrence had been placed. They crawled up the bank with their arms in their hands, and peeping over the upper edge, they saw a man in a blanket coat leading a cart. They instantly raised their guns to fire, (an action more savage than commendable.) At the moment the man turned so as to be more plainly seen, when old M'—— said to his companion—now that's my own son Hughy, but I'll dom'd for a' that if I still not gi' him a shot. He then actually fired at his own son, as the person really proved to be, but happily without effect.—Having heard the noise made by their conversation and the cocking of the pieces, which the nearness of his position rendered perfectly practicable, he ran round the cart, and the ball lodged in the felloe of the wheel. The report drew the attention of the neighboring guards, and the two marauders were driven from their lurking place. While retreating with all possible speed, M'Neil was wounded in the shoulder, and if alive, carries the wound about with him unhealed to this day. Had the ball struck the old Scotsman, it is questionable whether any one would have considered it more than even handed justice commending the chalice to his own lips.

A Scotch parson, in his prayer, said, Laird bless the grand council, and parliament, and grant they may hang together. A country fellow standing by, replied, Yes, yes, with all my heart, and the sooner the better—and I'm sure it is the prayer of all good people. But, friends, said the parson, I don't mean as that fellow does, but pray that they may all hang together in accord and concord. No matter to what c rd, replied the other, so tis' but a *strong cord*.

The parsimony of Lord Kenyon was notorious, and his want of all hospitality the theme of general animadversion. The subject being once started in conversation, in a company of which Cowper was one, some of them observed that Lord Kenyon had never been known to give a single bottle of wine to a friend. "But I have (says Cowper) known him to give one to a dozen. *Frazer's Magazine.*

Literary Men, by some extraordinary fatality, seem to be doomed to pecuniary embarrassment. Other people make fortunes out of their labors, while they live and die bankrupts.—Byron, with the enormous sums he received for his brilliant productions, and with he fortune he inherited, saw his furniture and library pass under the baliff's hammer. Roscoe, too, the once wealthy—the talented and lamented Roscoe, was stript of his splendid library and his splendid fortune.—Moore had to quit his country on account of pecuniary embarrassment—not a fault of his own; but the treachery and fraud of a subordinate whom he employed, involved him in a debt of £20.000. we believe. And last, not least, Sir Walter Scott, after his immense labors, and immense income, by the failure of others, left not a single pound for his family, but left debts to the amount of £60.000 or 80,000, which will sweep away every thing he left, and leave his creditors unsatisfied.—Happy for the man of genius, that if he leaves no goods nor chattels, lands nor tenements to his family, he can yet bequeath to the world, what is beyond the reach of creditors and catchpoles—the monument of his genius and the immortality of his name. These at least, in common with the world, may be inherited by his children—and proud may they be of such an inheritance. *Bos. Statesman.*

Who wrote Gil Blas?—It is now established beyond a doubt, that Don Antonio Solis, and not Le Sage, is the author of these celebrated adventures. Le Sage got possession of the manuscript, (which was suppressed in Spain, for political reasons) through his friend Lyonne, the Spanish minister at Paris. But Lorente proves, from the nature of the work itself, that it could not have been written by the Frenchman, Le Sage.

[North American Review,

How to detect a Sharper.—A German Baron was known at Bath by a lame and withered hand. He received his wound thus: He was once gambling with an Irish gentleman, who thought the cards were not played fair, and felt very sure it was the Baron at his tricks; the Irish gentleman took a decisive course: he seized a fork, and sticking it through the Baron's hand, pinned it to the table, exclaiming, "If Pam be not under that gentleman's hand, I'll beg his pardon." Pam was there.

Literary Guzzlement.—Hume, Smith, and other literati of the last century, used to frequent a tavern in a low street in Edinburgh, called the Potterrow; where, if their accommodations were not of the first order, they had at least no cause to complain of the scantiness of their victuals. One day, as the landlady was bringing in a *third* supply of some particularly good dish, she thus addressed them: "They ca' ye the *literawti*. I believe; but, if they were to ca' ye the *eaterawti*, they would be nearer the mark."

Sleep.—Few of our readers, perhaps, are aware that the human body falls asleep by instalments. According to M. Labuis, a French physiologist, quoted in a late number of the Quarterly Review, the muscles of the arms and legs loose their power before those which support the head, and these last, sooner than the muscles which sustain the back, and he illustrates this by the cases of persons who sleep on horseback, or while they are standing or walking. He conceives that the sense of sight sleeps first, then the sense of smell, next that of hearing, and lastly that of touch. He maintains also, that the viscera falls asleep with different degrees of soundness.

To the Public.

WHEREAS, some designing or malicious persons having been very active in circulating a report through the country, and particularly in North Carolina, that the merchants of Cheraw are out of funds and unable to buy the produce that comes to market—

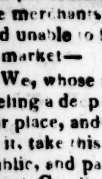
We, whose names are under written, feeling a deep interest in the prosperity of our place, and being personally interested in it, take this method of declaring to the public, and particularly to our friends of North Carolina, that although there were a few days when money was rather scarce, (and that entirely owing to the agencies of the banks not renewing their usual supplies,) yet there has been no time past but there was abundant money in market to purchase all the produce brought here; and that we are at present, and expect to be kept so, *amply supplied with funds*, and are determined to pay as good prices for produce as any of the neighboring towns; and that our place is plentifully supplied with *SALT* and *GROCERIES*, and *Goods of every description*, which can be bought on reasonable terms.

Given under our hands, this 28th December, 1832.

JNO. SCOTT,
D. & J. MALLOY,
FELIX LONG,
D. S. HARLLEE,
JOHN G. M'KENZIE,
ALEX M'KENZIE,
D. M'NAIR.
BENJ. G. CURTIS,
JOHN C. WADSWORTH,
ROBT. C. DAVIS. & CO.
AUG P. LACOSTE.
RALPH POST,
ALEX MUIRHEAD, & CO
JOSEPH BEERS
J. & C. POWELL.

Cheraw, S. C 2 58

Runaway



FROM the subscriber on the night of the 31st Oct ber; my negro man TOM, about 22 or 25 years old, black complected, had on a blue cloth coat & pantaloons, black fur hat, (fashionable) about 5 feet 9 or 10 inches high, stout built. From what I can learn from different sources, I am induced to believe, that he has been persuaded to leave me by some white person, who has promised him his freedom on their reaching some free State. I will pay ten dollars to any person who will confine him in any jail in the state, so that I get him again.

SENECA TURNER.

Cabarrus Co. N. C. 51tf

BLANK DEEDS.

Of every description, neatly Printed, and kept constantly for sale at this office.

BENJAMIN FRALEY
TAILOR,

HAVING removed to the house formerly occupied by Samuel Fraley, as a confectionary shop, a few doors above Mr. Slaughter's Tavern, where he is prepared to accommodate all those who may favor him with their patronage. He has just received from New-York and Philadelphia, the latest fashions, as imported from Paris, and London, and having a good number of first rate workmen, in his employ, he will do work on the shortest notice—cut and made in a superior style to any in this part of the country, and warranted to fit well. All kinds of carting will be done on the shortest notice. All orders for work, from a distance, will be promptly attended to.

Being an Agent for the patent-right cutting for Saguse, or Wilson, of New York, and also for A. Ward, of Philadelphia, he will instruct any Tailor, that may want instruction in cutting clothing.

He returns his sincere thanks to his friends and the public generally, for the liberal patronage bestowed upon him, and hopes to merit it further, by a strict attention to business.

30tf B. F.

Notice.

House and Lot For Sale.

BY virtue, and in pursuance of a Deed of Trust, executed by C. L. Bowers, to Peter Krider, and for the purposes therein set forth; I shall offer for sale, in the town of Wilkesborough, on Tuesday the 5th February next, the

House & Lot,

Belonging to said Charles L. Bowers, and formerly the property of Doct. H. B. Satterwhite. Terms of sale, CASH. PETER KRIDER.

3t58 By HENRY KRIDER. *Attorney.*

Notice.

LAND FOR SALE.

THERE will be sold, on the premises, by the subscribers, on Friday the 1st day of February, 1833; all that

Valuable Tract of Land,

Owned by the late Washington Byers dec'd., lying on the Catawba River, adjoining the lands of James S. Byers, and others, containing 600 acres, a large portion of which is

BOTTOM LAND,

Of the best quality; there are two settlements on the land, both of which with the fencing, are in excellent repair. Any person can view the land by applying to some one of the subscribers. Terms will be made known on the day of sale.

THO'S. BYERS, JO'S BYERS,
ROB'T BYERS, JS S. BYERS.
A. R. SIMONTON, WM WHITE.
JOHN FALLS, T. W FALLS,
MARGARET BYERS.

The subscribers will attend, for the purpose of Surveying the above land, on Wednesday, the 30th January, 1833. 6t61

Iredell Co. N. C. Dec. 22nd 1832.

State of North-Carolina.

LINCOLN COUNTY.

COURT OF PLEAS & QUARTER SESSIONS } *October Session* 1832.

JACOB PARKER *vs* HAMBLIN V. SNELL Original Attachment levied on personal property. It appearing to the satisfaction of the court, that Hamblin V. Snell, the defendant is not an inhabitant of this State. It is therefore ordered by the Court that he appear at the next County court of Pleas & Quarter Sessions, to be held for Lincoln county, at the court house in Lincolnton, on the third Monday in January next, replevy and plead to issue or judgment by default, will be entered up against him, ordered that publication hereof be made six weeks successively in the Western Carolinian.

Witness VARDY M'BEE C. C.

NOTICE.

THE undersigned having received letters of administration on the estate of Godfrey Clement dec'd., requests all persons having claims against the same, to present them within the time prescribed by law; otherwise this notice, will be plead in bar of recovery. Those indebted will please settle the same as early as possible.

JOHN CLEMENT; *Admr.*

Nov 21st 1832. 51tf

FIFTY NEGROES WANTED.

THE Subscriber wishes to purchase *FIFTY NEGROES*, consisting of *MEN, WOMEN, BOYS & GIRLS*, aged from 14 to 25 years, to furnish a plantation in the State of Louisiana, for which the CASH will be paid. Persons having such property, would do well to apply immediately at my residence, Salisbury, N. C., either personally, or by letter, addressed to me, which shall be punctually attended to. RICHARD W. LONG.

N. B. I also wish to purchase a Carpenter, a Brick-layer and a likely Negro Fellow, acquainted with the process of burning brick.

R. W. L.

December, 4th 1832. 43tf

List of Letters

REMAINING in the P. O. at Lincolnton, Lincoln Co. N. C. on the 1st Jan. 1833.

Jacob Arney
Jacob Adder[illegible]
Christ. Aders
Lewis Bulleon
Jacob Burns
Jos. Brevard 2
David Bailey
David Beam
Benj. Bird
Thos Berry
Robt. Blackburn
James Bridges
Lacken Bradshaw
Jason Bradly 2
David Barringer
Geo. Baysor
Randolph Barnett
Michael Cook
Sarah Crouse
Dan. Counsel
J. Carpenter, or widow Elis. Carpenter
Elenor Cobb
James Clarke,
George Carthey
Col. Cline
Elizabeth Eston
John Fry
Philip Fry
C. P. Fulenwider
A. Gardner
Philip Gross
Mr. Gross (Gunsmith)
Alex. Hooper
Abel Hoyle
Elias Hooper
Elizabeth Hinkle
Simon Hagar
Paul Herzog
Mr. Hines
Gahn Hinkle
Anthony Hallmon
Geo. Hoover
Thos Hannah
Elijah Joplin
Samuel Keiser
John Kilwell
Geo Lohre
Larkin Landers
Daniel Loretz
Andrew Lenard
Jas. Lewis
Jacob Link
Daniel Luts
John Leaner
R. [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Co[illegible]
W[illegible]
J[illegible]
Geo. [illegible]
Rev G. D. M'Daniel
Elizabeth Morris
Michael O'Riley
Jane Parmer
Jacob Plunck 2
Michael Quickel
Rev. Hugh Quinn
Henry Rhodes
John Ramsour
Michael Reep
John Rockett, 2
Col John Reinhardt
Philip Rudisill
Jesse and David Robison
Morgan Roberson
John Rudasill
Col. Michael Reinhardt
Rev. Jas. Stacey
Jesse Sanders
Mrs. Sherril
Daniel Seagle
John Spencer
John Scronce
Peter Smith
Geo. Seagle
Henry Summey
Adam Seagle
John S. Scott
Elizabeth A. Spain
Wm. A. Tisdel
Geo. Whitenhunt
Geo. Wacaster
Jas. H. White
Coonrad Weaver
L. Williams
Thos. Ward
Ephraim Wilson
John Warlick
David Whetstine
Mathias Whetstine
Maxwell Wilson
Martin Zimmerman

3t60 C. C. HENDERSON P. M.

A List of Letters

REMAINING in the P. O at Statesville. N. C. on the 1st day of January, 1833.

John Arthurs
Nat. W. Alexander
Henry Baggerly
Arthur Blankenship
Andrew Barringer
Josiah Bradshaw
Wm. Beard
Sally Bean
Henry Chambers
Arch. Cavin
Tobitha Cameron
Thos. B. Greaves
David Correll
Jas. Croswell
Alex. Duncan
Sheriff of Iredell County
Wm Feimster 2
Geo. Flowers
Burges Gaither
[illegible], Glasscock
Adam Hofman
Mathias Harky
Gabriel Hardin
Albert F. Hughes
Lenora Hampton
Jno. Lea

3t60

Geo. Lackey
Daul Lindley
Alex. Moore
Goodrich Moore
Catharine S Mills
Wm. Mills
Eliza L. Morrison
Geo. McMorrison
Wm. McJimsey and others 2
Geo. McHenry
Nancy McKay
Geo. McKay
Saml. McFarland
David Reid
Jas D Rumph
Geo. G. Robison
Rachael Stimpson
Jno. F. Stirewalt
Rev. T. F Scott
Mrs. Matilda Stevenson
Esreas Swann
John Scott
David Templeton
Jno Woodward
Richard Woodward 2
A. Woolworth 2
W. KERR P. M.

NEW STORE
Opened in
MOCKSVILLE.

Murphy & Taylor

RESPECTFULLY announce to the public, that they have just received, and are now opening at Mocksville, in the Store opposite that of R. S. Hargrave, a large and entirely new stock of *Fashionable & Fancy Dry Goods; Glass, Crockery, and Hardware; Groceries; Fur and Wool Hats; Leghorn, Dunstable, and Navarino Bonnets; Books and Stationary*, together with every other article necessary to make a full and complete assortment; all of which having been bought for Cash, and selected by one of the firm, out of

The Latest Importations in
NEW-YORK AND PHILADELPHIA,

with constant regard to an assortment, adapted to the requirements of the people, they now offer to purchasers at the lowest prices, and upon the most accommodating terms.

The variety and amount of their assortment, being large and extensive, they earnestly solicit those wishing to purchase goods of a new and excellent quality, to call, examine, hear terms and prices, judge for themselves, and *Buy*, as their best interest may require.

November, 1832. 51tf

NEW BINDERY.

WITH a view to the more efficient prosecution of their business, the Subscribers have established a

BOOK-BINDERY.

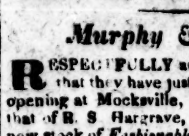
Having procured the best Materials from the North, and employed a Workman who comes well recommended, they are prepared to execute on moderate terms, all orders in this line.

Account Books, Records, &c. ruled and made to order: and every kind of Binding promptly executed in the best and neatest manner, on reasonable terms.

36tf J. GALES & SON.

Raleigh, Aug 2 1832.

CHARLESTON and CHERAW,
THE STEAM BOAT MACON



CAPT. J. C. GRAHAM having been engaged last summer, in running between Charleston and Cheraw calling at Geo. Town on her way up and down, will resume her Trips in the course of a few days and is intended to be continued in the trade the ensuing season.

Her exceeding light draft of Water drawing when loaded only about four and a half feet water will enable her to reach Cheraw at all times except, an uncommon low tides, when her cargo will be lightened at the expense of Boat.

J. B CLOGH.

Charleston Sept 28, 1831

N. B. She has comfortable accommodations for a few passengers. 92tf

J. B. C.

NEW FANCY SPRING & SUMMER GOODS.

HACKETT & LEMLY

ARE now receiving and opening a general assortment of

SPRING & SUMMER GOODS

selected with great care from the markets of New-York and Philadelphia of the latest importations. Their stock consists in part of

Superfine Blue and Black cloths
Do. Brown & Brown olive do.
Do. Invisible Green do.
Fancy Cassimeres, Satinetts & Mixt do.
Merino do's., Bleached and colored Brown do's., Mixed Bombazets,
Yellow Nankeens and Nankeen Cassimeres,
French and plaid Ginghams,
Mexican mixture, Grad linen,
English cassinetts, German & Irish linens,
Linen Table and towel diaper, &c.

A GENERAL ASSORTMENT OF

Marseilles, and Velentia Vestings,

A GREAT VARIETY OF FANCY

Prints, Ginghams and Muslins,
Tickings, Bleached and Brown,
Sheetings and Shirtings,
Furniture dimity and Cotton fringe,
Black Italian Silk,
Seonchew & sarsinet do.
Blue black silk cambletts,
Cha. gros de Naples,
Milanese and de Boussais Gauze,
Pongee, flag and bandana handkerchiefs,
Crimson Pongee do.
Fancy Gauze and Crape do.
Scarfs, silk sattin, and rich figured velvet,
Silk and cotton Hosiery.

A GREAT VARIETY OF RIBB

Fancy bonnet, belt and cap ribbons,
Silk aprons,
Linen cambric handkerchiefs, &c. &c.
Diamond Straw Bonnets,
Polish do. do.
Belgian do. do., Palm leaf do.
Leghorn bonnets, fur and wool do.

A GREAT VARIETY OF

Latin and Greek School Books,
Shoes, Morocco skins,
Hardware and Cutlery,
Glass and Crockery-ware, &c. &c.

A GENERAL ASSORTMENT OF

Carpenter's Tools, consisting of every article made use of by Carpenters in this part of the Country,
Sadler's Trimmings,
Plated, Brass Jappan, and Prince's do.
Harness mounting, coach fringe and lace,
A good assortment of Groceries, &c. &c.

ALL of which, they are determined as low as goods can be had in this part of country. Purchasers will do well to call and see our stock and hear prices before they buy.

H. & L. are grateful to the public for their very liberal patronage heretofore, and hope by strict attention to business, and selling goods cheap, to merit a continuance of the same.

Salisbury, April 28th 1832.

NOTICE.

THE undersigned having qualified as Executor of the Estate of Jethro Jamin March dec'd., requests all persons to whom the same may be indebted to present their claims properly authenticated within the time prescribed by law, otherwise this notice will be plead in bar of recovery,—and all indebted are requested to make settlement.

JOHN CLEMENT, Ex'r.

Nov. 21st 1832. 51tf.

THE THOROUGH BRED HORSE

RIOT,

WILL stand the ensuing season at Brookes Store, Lincoln County, N. C. He was gotten by the celebrated HORSE and bred by old Sir Archie; his dam, a fine blooded mare—her pedigree can be traced to many of the most distinguished racers of the day. As to Sir Archie, his reputation, and that of his colts, and their descendants are so well established, that it is scarcely necessary to say any thing at the present time, they have been among the most successful distance horses, in the States of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee, for the last fifteen years.

RIOT,

Is a handsome bay, five feet three inches high—four years old next spring, and is thought that he will make a good horse, as his form and blood are both good. Particulars made known in due time. 37tf

H. G. BURTON.
R. A. BURTON.

December 31st 1832.

THE CRISIS.

It is now admitted that the people of the north and middle States have been kept in culpable ignorance of the state of public feeling in the south. This has been done by the suppression of all the arguments used by the people of the south. The attitude assumed by South Carolina, and the Proclamation of the President, makes it the imperative duty of every citizen to examine for himself that he may make up an earnest opinion. With a view to place the arguments within their reach, we propose to publish

Mr. Calhoun's two letters,
The ordinance of South Carolina,
The report of her committee who submitted that ordinance,
The address to the people of South Carolina,
The address to the people of the United States,
The proclamation of the President,
And the reply to that proclamation,

should one be published,

As an extra to the United States Telegraph, making a pamphlet of sixty-four pages, at the rate of five dollars for twenty five copies. As it will be published on one of our enlarged sheets, the postage will be at the rate charged for an ordinary newspaper; or one cent per copy if within 100 miles, or 1½ cents for greater distance. DUFF GREEN.